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1981/06/03



DEPARTMENT OF STATE

BRIEFING MEMORANDUM

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TO: The Secretary

FROM: EA - John E. Holdridge

SUBJECT: Your Meetings with Chinese Foreign Minister Huang Hua

I. SUMMARY

Your two meetings with Vice Premier and Foreign Minister Huang Hua will be opportunities for technical, nitty-gritty discussions on global, strategic and regional issues. You will also want to foreshadow discussions with Party Vice Chairman Deng, Premier Zhao and Vice Premier Geng Biao on a range of topics including the strategic dialogue, our relaxation of export controls on technology, and other bilateral matters. I will cover some bilateral issues in my meeting with Vice Foreign Minister Zhang Wenjin.

II. SETTING

As the guest, you should lead off on most issues, especially during the first meeting. Huang will undoubtedly come down very hard on the Taiwan issue. To the extent possible, it fits your purpose to listen to Huang, to try to cool him down a bit on certain Taiwan side-issues, and to defer substantive discussion on our bilateral differences on Taiwan until your meeting with Deng. As your first presentation in China, the record of your meetings with Huang will be eagerly and immediately read by Deng and the other leaders with whom you will meet.

III. ISSUES

1. Convey our determination to counter Soviets: Your main purpose is to impress upon the Chinese that we are pursuing a comprehensive policy to counter Soviet and Soviet-proxy expansionism, including steps to build up our defense capabilities, to strengthen our alliance relationships, and to deny the Soviets opportunities for further strategic gains.

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2. Lay Basis for More Effective Coordination with China in Strategically Critical Areas: You will want to lay the basis for more effective coordination of US and Chinese policies in third areas, particularly Southwest and Southeast Asia. Our respective policies toward Afghanistan, Pakistan and India should be discussed in depth, particularly in view of Huang's own trip to India in late June. You should discuss Vietnam and Kampuchea in the context of your ASEAN and ANZUS trips, growing Chinese, ASEAN and US support for a united resistance, and the upcoming international conference on Kampuchea. Huang will certainly raise the issue of changes in our African policy. You should also raise our two main differences in Asia, [continued -- albeit greatly diminished -- Chinese support for Southeast Asian insurgencies] and the question of how best to promote peace and stability on the Korean peninsula.

3. Discuss Steps to Give Bilateral Relations Momentum: You will want to discuss a series of measures to restore momentum to the US-China relationship, including a visit to Washington by Premier Zhao, scheduling of cabinet/ministerial level visits and the Joint Economic Committee meeting, and touch briefly on some outstanding trade, economic and other bilateral matters. You may indicate that I will be discussing some bilateral issues -- i.e. Embassy premises and housing needs -- separately with Vice Foreign Minister Zhang.

4. Seek Moderation on Taiwan: Huang will take a very hard position on the Taiwan issue. You will want to reassure Huang of our commitment to the normalization understandings, assure him that the President and you deeply understand Chinese sensitivities, and ask that the Chinese not fall into the trap of responding to every Taiwan propaganda initiative on US-China-Taiwan relations.

5. Foreshadow Specific US Policy Initiatives toward China: You should foreshadow a range of issues which you will discuss in greater depth with Zhao, Geng and Deng. These issues include export and munitions control policies; legislative adjustments to treat China as a friendly, non-allied country; and our concern over Chinese exports of arms and nuclear materials to sensitive areas. You should also tell Huang that you plan to send Ambassador-at-large Walters to Beijing periodically for discussions on strategic matters.

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